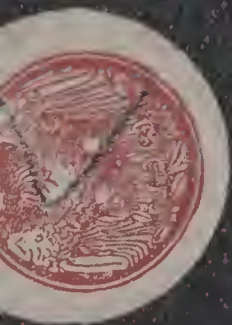


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THE SPANISH WAR.

AN ADDRESS

Before the Reunion Society of Vermont Officers, at Montpelier,
October 26, 1898.

BY

J. G. McCULLOUGH.

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THE SPANISH WAR.

Gentlemen of the Officers' Reunion Society, Ladies and Gentlemen :

For a generation or more you have been holding your annual reunions and have been accustomed to listen to able and interesting addresses upon themes more or less closely related to the War of the Rebellion. That was a great war—great in the numbers involved, great in the sacrifices made, great in the principles at stake, great in the results attained. It was a domestic war. This year we have been engaged in a foreign war. It is our first foreign war since we became firmly established as one of the great powers of the world.

It would seem from our history that about every generation has its war.

First came the Revolution, which made us an independent nation. That was a revolt against authority and government, so wisely conducted that upon the ruins of the government destroyed our forefathers erected a Representative Republic, with the rights of life, liberty and property so deeply planted in its soil and so firmly imbedded in its Constitution, that our institutions have outlived all the political and social changes of the 19th Century ; and if we and our posterity continue to exercise the same wise foresight the future centuries will but record the glowing glories of the growing Republic.

The next generation brought us the War of 1812. It was the natural outgrowth of the failure of Great Britain to carry out the stipulations of the Treaty of 1783. The field of this war was chiefly upon the water, and it was there that the victories of Hull and Bainbridge and Macdonough and Decatur and Perry shed new luster upon our flag. And as in the Revolution we conquered an independence upon land, so by the War of 1812 we conquered an independence upon sea.

The next generation gave us the Mexican War. Slavery was the cause of this war. It was inaugurated in the interest of human bondage, and it was but one step in a series of acts to

extend that institution over free territory and bring under its baneful influence some of the fairest portions of this fair land. As proof, we have but to recall the enactment of the Missouri Compromise, the annexation of Texas, the Mexican war, the filibustering schemes of the buccaneers, Lopez and Walker, the Ostend Conference, the repeal of the Compromise, the contests upon the plains of Kansas, the Lecompton Constitution, the Dred Scott decision, and, finally, before another generation had fully dawned, the dread appeal to the sword in the unholy crusade to overthrow free government. The Civil War revealed to our people and to the world the strength of our Federal Union. At the time when the martial tread of our armies was rocking this earth, in the very midst of the gigantic struggle that made our globe reel with its convulsions, and that cost hundreds of thousands of lives, and thousands of millions of treasure, this Government had the courage and the strength to strike the shackles from four millions of slaves, scattered over numerous States, and still was able to uphold and maintain the supreme authority of the Union throughout all its wide borders, and serenely and majestically to march on in its wonderful career upward and onward of national growth and splendor; and when the conflict was over, to present to mankind the unparalleled and sublime spectacle of quietly disbanding its mighty armies, whose members once again became the peaceful and prosperous citizens of a free republic.

Daniel Webster's reply to Hayne was an Amendment to the Constitution. "The inexorable logic of events" for the four years of Civil War vindicated the logic and the majestic speech of the great expounder, and the Amendment was ratified at Vicksburg and Gettysburg. The problems of the Union and the Constitution were solved and settled at Appomattox.

Since then a third of a century has passed. Since then a new generation has come to manhood. During these years questions of re-construction, of tariff, of civil service reform, of different systems of currency, of improvement in the government of cities, have occupied the attention of our people.

But our people are Anglo-Saxon. In their blood is the spirit of enterprise and adventure. We belong to a race whose restless energies for a thousand years have been the chief agency in extending and advancing the civilization of the world.

All at once the Cuban question became acute in our politics. True, we had had with us the Cuban question for more than ninety years. While disappearing at times it would on occasions break out afresh, and has contributed many pages of controversy to our diplomatic history. It could hardly be otherwise. Two different and distinct types of civilization side by side. Cuba is within one hundred miles of our shores. The contest was bound to come. On the continent the Anglo-Saxon, steadily advancing step by step, unsettling old opinions, reforming, lifting, improving, making more beneficent its aggressive and growing civilization. On the island was the civilization of the 16th century. Spain has been asleep for three hundred years. The Reformation that stirred all Europe never disturbed the Peninsula. The northern boundary of Africa, no longer stopping at the Straits of Gibraltar, reached and has remained at the Pyrenees. Spain, that during the reigns of Charles V and Phillip II, had grown to be the most powerful empire, and held sway over the most splendid and extensive territory in the Old World and in the New that was united under a single sovereign since the fall of the Roman Empire, took no part in the great movement at whose head stood Martin Luther.

From the age of Augustus on down, the star of European civilization grew dimmer and dimmer, till it was lost sight of in the Middle Ages, when the darkness waxed blacker with each succeeding century and became at length so intensified that historians have ever been disputing whether to place the crown of pristine gloom upon the brow of the seventh or eighth century. Be it which it may, from that turning point the face of all Europe, save Spain, slowly grew brighter, the people gradually opened their eyes to their own wretched condition, felt more sensibly the yoke of slavery pressing upon them, rested more uneasily under the intolerant superstition of the inmates of the cloister and the convent, took at first steps, short and feeble, but continuing to take them, and to make attacks still more earnest against the existing hierarchy, and to repel the attempts to curb them, till the Austin Friar, Martin Luther, catching light from the flames of martyrdom that encircled John Huss, anticipating though not producing the spirit of his age, stood forth and foremost the leader of the army of the Reformers, the bold interpreter of his followers' opinions and the daring advocate of their cause. That

wave has continued to swell in volume and in force throughout the English-speaking world in all the succeeding generations, and is destined in the long reaches of the future to girdle and occupy this earth. But throughout all this revolt Spain has lain dormant and torpid. Her Cortes assembled but three times during the 18th century. Her days have been centuries, and, as Ford has said, "she has always put off everything till to-morrow, except bankruptcy." The venality, the corruption, the cruelty of Spanish administration have pervaded and poisoned everywhere her governments at home or in her colonies. Her history has been written in blood and in violence from the days of Alva and the inquisition to the days of Weyler and the reconcentrado. No wonder, then, that her colonies have fallen away, and no wonder, after such an education, that the attempts of the emancipated colonies at self-government have been so feeble and sickly.

The continent and the island were too near together for such antagonistic systems. The conflict was inevitable. Our people did not want war. President McKinley, with signal ability and consummate tact, for months delayed action for debate, for reflection, for preparation. At last the condition in Cuba became so intolerable, the methods so horrible, the cruelties so revolting, and, to consummate all, the treachery in blowing up the *Maine*, so wicked, that the country was slowly aroused and began to think in events, and the great heart of the Nation to swell with emotion and indignation, when the high resolve was finally taken, that in the interests of humanity and civilization, the Cuban cancer must be cauterized from the bosom of the Western Hemisphere and Spain and the Middle Ages must leave the Americas for all time.

Now, that we have determined that the misrule of Cuba must stop, let Europe remove the other disgraceful scandal of modern misgovernment, so that neither shall any longer deface the earth.

The year 1898 became an epoch-making era. This nation, by its declaration of intervention, took a step unprecedented in the history of nations, but a step not wholly without moral justification. The movement was not an intervention for conquest, for empire, for territorial aggrandizement; it was an intervention in the affairs of an island that lay within hearing of our own shores, upon which and over which, though a bountiful Nature had rained all its richest gifts of climate and of soil, man had

set up a government that had not only failed to exercise the functions for which it was instituted, but had become a wicked and cruel instrument of torture to its citizens and victims, whose cries reached our homes and pierced the ears and melted the hearts of our people.

The step taken by this Government lifted the human race to a higher plane of civilization and presented the United States to the world in the inspiring role of the leader of nations, and the God of Battles set His seal of vindication upon our course.

The resolution taken, what an exhibition of the power and strength of this Government! Whatever differences existed before, they were then all buried, and seventy-five millions of people stood behind the Administration. The two Houses of Congress, without a dissenting vote, and in less time than it took to draw the bill, had already passed an emergency appropriation of fifty millions of dollars. It voted one hundred and fifty millions of additional taxes. It authorized the issue of one hundred millions of debt certificates. It authorized a loan of four hundred millions at three per cent., and two hundred millions of the same was subscribed for from six to eight times over by the people, at par. It raised and equipped in an incredibly short space of time an army of over 200,000 men, and could as easily have put in the field ten times the number. Its navy was stripped for battle, aye, and was winning a victory, too, in far distant seas that has dimmed the lustre of Trafalgar, almost before the world knew that the war had begun.

America, like a mighty athlete, sprung into action, full panoplied. Was it not of her that blind old Milton sang with prophetic vision more than two hundred years ago?

“Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks; methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full mid-day beam.”

The declaration did in an instant for this country what a generation of peace had failed to do. It blotted out the points of the compass. It burnt out the last spark of sectional feeling. It destroyed all jealousy and all heart-burning. The wave of loyalty that surged over the land when McKinley called to arms demonstrated that we were in very truth once again a united people,

undivided and indivisible. The flame of patriotism and of devotion to the flag was as steady and as bright and as intense in the one section as in the other. The Blue and the Gray melted into one color and the wearers stood shoulder to shoulder at Manila and at Santiago. The huzzas were just as loud and long and enthusiastic in the South as in the North when the news of victory flashed over the country, whether it came from Dewey of Vermont, breaking the stillness of that Sabbath morning in May, in Manila Bay, or from Hobson of Alabama, sailing with the Merrimac into the jaws of death in Santiago harbor, or from Sampson of New York, and Schley of Maryland, dissipating Cervera's fleet on that other Sabbath morning in July in the Cuban seas.

Is not this new birth of national feeling, this knitting together of the great American heart, worth all that the war has cost?

Another fruit of the war, and one only less valuable than the last, is the cordial good feeling that has grown up by reason of it, between Great Britain and the United States. There has always been between the two nations until this year some remnant of the old hostility that caused the original separation. For some reason, or for no reason, time and again during our history, bitterness has broken out between the two peoples. But during this war the English press, English public opinion, English public men of both parties, and of all classes, have uniformly spoken in the friendliest terms. Whenever any action was taken by that government it never failed to adopt such a course as redounded to our benefit. In its decisions on questions arising it could hardly keep neutral in the struggle, and its gratification at our every success was perfectly apparent. This war has shown that we are but one people, but branches of that English-speaking race that is destined to outstrip all others in the march of civilization. We speak the same tongue, read the same literature, are governed by the same body of common law, believe in the same Bible, enjoy the same glorious heritage of freedom. We spring from the same stock. Every achievement in the past is the common property of each. The most brilliantly illuminated pages in the history of either are to-day the proudest boast of the other. Even our Revolution itself which "wrung the brightest jewel from the diadem of the Georges," but saved England to herself. Charles James Fox said that "the resistance of the Americans to the oppression

of the mother country undoubtedly preserved the liberties of mankind." Nothing has so developed a recognition of a feeling of unity and sympathy between the two nations as this war. A sentiment of more than friendship was made manifest from the first, and this sentiment is and was of great potential force, for it affected the people of the two countries rather than the rulers. It was the kinship of the race finding expression, the working of a law higher than human institutions. Most happy augury for civilization! For upon nothing else so much depends the welfare of this world and the advancement in all the arts of enlightenment of the future generations as upon the growth of the friendship and co-operation of the two branches of the English-speaking race. And since the termination of the war this feeling has become even more intense. A closer union or alliance is bound to be the outcome. The coincidence of material interests favors it. The similarity of political institutions is conducive to it. The community of blood is its strongest incentive. It may not be expedient, it may not be desirable even, to have any formal alliance. There is no need to attempt to work out the details. There need be no details. A hearty and frank and cordial understanding between the two peoples, actuated by kindred aims, engaged in the same noble and ennobling undertakings, and moving towards a common destiny, is a better and stronger coalition than any paper treaty. An Anglo-American alliance of heart and mind, an Anglo-Saxon coalition such as this, would stand guard over the liberties of the race and would be the best assurance of the continuous march of civilization throughout the world.

The war is too recent to require a rehearsal of its incidents. It is all fresh in your memories. It was over almost before it had begun. It lasted less than ninety days. We never met with a reverse. We astonished ourselves as well as poor, effete Spain. We were successful everywhere, not checked even anywhere. The triumph was unique in its very completeness. Our loss was nominal. Dewey, in a few hours before and after breakfast, swept the whole Spanish fleet out of existence in the Bay of Manila, without the loss of a man, and with the cable working we had known it twelve hours before it occurred. Sampson and Schley, during the forenoon, sunk and destroyed and annihilated Cervera's squadron off Santiago Harbor, with the loss of one

man. Shafter beleaguered the Spanish city and accepted its surrender with 23,000 men, with the loss of a few hundred. Was there ever such a war before?

Though our adversary was no match, the war has lifted us to a higher position in the eyes of the world. It has demonstrated our capacity to create and equip a conquering army upon the shortest notice to meet the exigencies, as we supposed, of a great emergency. Our military administration transported successfully three great expeditions of troops to distant foreign and tropical ports. Our territory was never invaded; our coasts were not attacked. From the date of the declaration of intervention to the protocol our people continued to go about their ordinary avocations, and the surface of our national life remained as serene as during the days of profoundest peace.

Nor in passing must we forget the amenities of the war and the chivalry of the conflict. As has been said, when before did a conquering nation transport across the ocean the captured army? When before parole all the officers of a captured fleet? When before did a nation feed, not only the victims of the cruelty of the enemy, but feed the forces of the enemy itself?

And then how chivalric in word and in action. Whether it be Cervera's generous message assuring our Admiral of Hobson's safety! Or Captain Evans' refusal to accept the sword of the commander of the Vizcaya! Or the kindly greeting of Wainwright and Schley of the Spanish admiral that brought tears to his eyes! Or Captain Philip's "Don't cheer, boys, the poor devils are dying!" Have not the days of Chevalier Bayard or Philip Sidney come again? Is America the knight-errant of the nations? We might call these the humanities of war. All these are the courtesies of the conflict and show the better side of our nature, and are in truth a protest against all war as a method to settle differences between nations. Franklin said, "There never was a good war or a bad peace."

And it is fitting also, on this occasion and in this presence, to remember our own boys. As in the past, so in the present, as in the Revolution and in the Rebellion, so in this Spanish war, Vermont answered to the first roll-call. She never hesitates when her country asks. On that altar she stands ever ready to make any sacrifice. It was denied our regiment to fight the enemy in

the field. It is not given to every soldier to fall at the head of the column. Not the heights of San Juan, but the depths of Chickamauga—not the thrilling charge, but the wasting fever, was the lot of our brave and gallant men. More than a score of them have died and still more are suffering from the diseases contracted in camp. Whether our heroes be dead or living, they will ever be cherished in the grateful remembrance of their countrymen for their patriotic sacrifice.

Now, that the war is over, what are our duties and what is to be our policy? Will our victory over ourselves be equal to our victory over Spain? Is self-restraint one of the Republic's cardinal virtues?

Though at the outset our purposes were in a measure defined, we are not to be limited simply to the fulfillment of those promises. There never was a war where the victor has stopped his hand at the satisfaction of the original demand. For years prior to the Revolution the grievances of the colonies were agitated and no one thought of separation, but when Lexington and Concord came nothing could stay the swelling tide of independence. In the early stages of the Civil War it was declared that slavery was not involved in the issue, but the contest soon grew to such proportions and such intensity that only the great proclamation of freedom could satisfy the demand of our liberty-loving people. By the very nature of the laws of war the rights and obligations of the belligerents at the beginning are entirely changed at the end of hostilities. It is the situation at the end, not that at the beginning, that will control the parties in arranging the terms of peace.

The knottiest problem left by the war to be solved is the Philippine problem. As I have said, these closing years of the 19th century are epoch-making years. The world seems to have been turned topsy-turvy. The great nations of Europe, ancient and modern, have heretofore fought their battles on European soil over European questions. All this is changed. In these later years France and Germany and Russia and England have transferred their contests to Africa and Asia. They have been partitioning those continents and imposing their jurisdiction over extensive territories and princely possessions. The great struggles are no longer to be fought on the Ægean and the Mediterranean, as in the past, but have been transferred to the China and Yellow

seas. The "sick man" of the world is no longer Turkey, but China. With the Black Sea and the Baltic virtually closed, Russia, after a struggle of two hundred years, is to find an outlet over the four thousand miles of trans-Siberian railway at Port Arthur on the waters of the great Pacific. No longer Constantinople, but it is Port Arthur that troubles the dreams of British statesmen. And now, by Dewey's victory, we are in the midst of it all, and are brought face to face with these Old World questions. The west and the east have met in the South China Sea. The great questions of our national destiny and national duty loom up for solution.

One argument in favor of holding the Philippines is the material one. Its advocates say that it would give us the control of a valuable and lucrative trade. It would extend our commerce to distant seas. It would make us masters of the immense traffic traversing the Pacific Ocean, which is but in its infancy. In fine, the whole gorgeous east, and all the "wealth of Ormus and Ind" would be ours if we throw not away the prize. It is said that China, with its three or four hundred millions of people, is breaking up, and that the four great powers of Europe are parceling out among themselves the Celestial Empire, and that we shall be left out in the reckoning, and that even the trade we now have with Shanghai and Hong Kong will be lost and the great possibilities of the future forfeited forever. Is this true? Is not this picture overdrawn? Is it true that trade follows the flag as much as it does the lowest price current? This country is not only the granary of the world, but it is fast growing to be its manufacturing workshop. This year we not only supplied our own home market, but our exports were greater than those of any other nation on the face of the globe, greater even than Britain with all her colonies. We had no Philippine possessions—no distant colonies. Our products sought and secured the markets of the colonies of other powers, aye, the markets of the powers themselves. We sent cars and steel rails to Australia and Japan. We sent steel billets to Great Britain. We underbid London for the steel rails of her underground railroads. We underbid Holland for the construction of a steel bridge in her own dominions. We underbid Glasgow for pipe in her own streets. The American bicycle, sewing machine and typewriter have invaded Germany and England and threaten

to monopolize their markets. Last year our exports to the United Kingdom were five times as much as our imports from there. Iron, steel and coal are king. We have and can produce them in unlimited quantities. The nation producing them at the lowest cost is destined to dominate the commerce of the world. To-day we are marketing Bessemer pig iron at from two to three dollars per ton cheaper than any other nation. During the past ten years we have more than doubled the export of our domestic manufactures. We are no longer a debtor, but have become a creditor nation. Therefore, with sufficient naval and coaling stations in the Pacific, with the Nicaragua Canal, with a great navy, with a merchant marine such as we should and can command, we will successfully compete for the markets of Asia and Africa and the islands of the sea, and will rival or surpass Britain herself in the carrying trade of the world.

This is an imperialism worth the having! This is the imperialism of trade. This is the conquest of commerce. This is the American invasion of the markets of the world, not merely an invasion of the markets of the colonies and dependencies of the other great powers, but of the markets of the powers themselves. Our "infant industries" are fast coming of age. A broader reciprocity is demanded by the growing development of our productive enterprises. The policy of the open door invites serious attention. If, however, other nations adopt the policy of spheres of influence, may not we also easily provide either for open ports or spheres of influence in the definitive treaty of peace? The economic changes of late in our industrial condition have been so great that we can no longer be said to be internationally isolated, but, on the contrary, are active participants and competitors in the serious struggle for industrial and commercial supremacy everywhere. We are fast becoming the clearing house of the world. How does mere territorial expansion enlarge our business opportunities, while it surely multiplies our political dangers?

Mr. Chamberlain, England's Colonial Secretary, on his recent visit, referring directly to our situation, has lately said, that a magnificent colonial policy is a good and grand thing for any country; that it has made great Britain a rich and prosperous and colossal Empire upon whose dominions the sun never sets. And why not also for America? True for England, but how different in this

regard is the situation of England and the United States. The one a little island in the North Sea, cradled in the arms of her mighty navy, always kept stronger than the combined navies of the next two strongest powers, shielding her from attack from twelve million armed men across the channel, protecting her from all force from without; while within she is peopled with a dense and enterprising population, yearly raising up multitudes of young men, the best type of our race, for whom she finds and must find for her own good and for theirs, and whom she sends to, new homes in Canada and Australia and New Zealand, there to build up colonies filled with her own children, and that are destined in the future to outstrip this Mother of Nations in population and in wealth. The other, a colossal territory, separated from the Old World dynasty by the Atlantic and the Pacific, stretching across a continent 3000 miles from ocean to ocean, occupying a belt 1500 miles wide within the temperate zone, sparsely peopled, with only 23 persons to the square mile, while England has 370, itself capable of sustaining as many, with all this magnificent domain to populate and develop, besides the other contiguous empires lying both north and south that in the long future shall receive her surplus population and are bound to gravitate to the Federal Union. Is there any comparison? In addition to these colonies, which are really republics filled with her younger sons, and linked to the mother country by the ties of sentiment and filial affection, England has India and Egypt and numerous other dependencies dotting this world over, swarming with alien and inferior races, which Imperial Britain rules, with her huge governmental machine in foreign affairs, and must rule with an iron hand if she rules at all. She has a highly trained and highly paid civil service, from the ranks of which she draws governors at will, and who serve mostly during good behavior, and are protected and upheld by her vast military establishment. On that arm they sleep securely and awake daily to the music of its "morning drum beat." England is the police force of the subject races. Every year she seizes new posts, and every year she is widening the sweep and strengthening the parts of her governmental organism. An aristocracy or a monarchy may govern dependencies, but can a democracy—and remain a democracy? However grievous this burden to England, and however beneficent is her reign for inferior races, is it the

business for a Republic to engage in if we had the machinery? — a government founded on the consent of the governed? — a government where the town meeting is the initial authority? — a government that trains to manhood the best and strongest men? — a government whose creed and charter is, that it is a government of the people, for the people.

We are the chief guardians and custodians of democratic institutions. Notwithstanding all our shortcomings, to us is intrusted the privilege and upon us rests the duty of working out the problem of the well-being of the race through the steady and continuous growth of the equalization of opportunity.

President Eliot has said that the five most important contributions which the United States has made to civilization are "peace-keeping, religious toleration, the development of manhood suffrage, the welcoming of new comers and the diffusion of well-being;" and that "in spite of the qualifications and deductions which every candid citizen would admit with regard to them, they will ever be held in the grateful remembrance of mankind."

How are these to be preserved, enlarged, intensified? How is this nation which, Abraham Lincoln said at Gettysburg, "was conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal" to continue to be a "government of the people, for the people, by the people?" Have we not always been taught that if this nation solves the problem of democratic government successfully on this continent, it will have conferred lasting benefits upon its own people, and by example will confer unending blessings upon the rest of mankind? Is it not the highest mission of the Anglo-Saxon race to preserve and enlarge and energize Anglo-Saxon freedom? And is it not our share of that mission to raise up in this Western Hemisphere for the coming generations of men, a free and happy and prosperous community that shall grow in population, in material wealth, in moral worth, in intellectual development, in civic virtue, as the years increase, and which shall stand as a living monument of Liberty Enlightening the World, and serve forever as an exemplar to the other nations of the earth, beckoning them on to the full attainment of the same high destiny, and in the good providence of God to the perfect fruition of the same sublime hope?

To the extent that we depart from this ideal, by so much do

we jeopardize the success of the great experiment. Our institutions have been the growth of centuries. Even with the race or races from which we spring, it has been a matter of long and severe education. To last, the foundations of the structure must be securely laid. The great body of the common people must understand their rights and responsibilities, and have both the intelligence and the disposition to uphold the one and to assume the other. Anglo-Saxon freedom and representative government have been the developement of ages. The milestones on the way are Hastings and Runnymede and Nasby and Yorktown and Appomattox.

Our forefathers have been engaged in this struggle for 1,200 years. From the sixth century, starting in the marshes of Lower Germany and running on down through all the subsequent years of English history and our own colonial times, our ancestors kept up the contest with varying measures of success. By a slow and wearisome process, the principle of self-government was evolved and developed out of these centuries of effort. From a close study of the progress of this movement we may discern first the rude primary assembly; then later the town meeting; then later still the county meeting, which was a crude representative assembly composed of the selectmen of the townships; then at later periods came legislative bodies and parliaments and congresses, giving a few centuries to each period. It was Martin Luther who replied to the Cardinal who had said to him: "The Church must reform, but step by step!" "Yes, putting some centuries between every step," said the old Reformer. And so it has ever been and so it will ever be. History is not made, but unfolded. It is the long and tedious problem of the elevation of the masses; it is the question of the slow and gradual enfranchisement and enlightenment of the human intellect; and even with our Anglo-Saxon race, it required the toughening and ripening of the political fibre of our ancestors through the long sweep of the ages, before the great Declaration was promulgated in Independence Hall. The landmarks in this endless procession of events, that lift themselves in sublime significance, are the Magna Charta and the First House of Commons and the Barons' War in the thirteenth century; the Great English Rebellion in the seventeenth; and the American

Revolution in the eighteenth century; and Lewes and Marston Moor and Bunker Hill tell the grand story.

But these movements were not from the top; they were from the bottom; they emanated from the people. To prepare a nation for any great reform in religion or in government, to make an advance step in civilization, it is necessary first to set in motion the mind of the multitude, to show it its wants and to enable it to think for itself that it may devise means for remedying those wants. Break up the ground, mellow and enrich the soil before you scatter the seed, and the rains and the warmth of nature will ripen it into full ears and golden grain. It requires no deep study of history to convince us that to no one man is due the merit, and upon no one man can be cast the censure of having effected for better or for worse, a complete revolution in the course of human actions. The great river of human thought is fed by innumerable rivulets, and an adulteration or purification of one or a few of these will have little effect upon the color of the river itself. The English Rebellion was not the work of an hour or a day; a whole society is not so shortly or so easily revolutionized. By degrees the people saw the errors inherited from their ancestors, were able to point out and appreciate the faults in their own government, could discover and feel the evils embodied in their Constitution, till thus they had educated themselves up to a knowledge of some of their rights and had learned to set limits to the royal prerogative, so that when those limits were overstepped and the work of the king became the oppression of the subject, then it was that the people found refuge from the tyranny of the throne by destroying the throne itself; then it was that the pent-up indignation of England was so great as to sanction the murder of its sovereign. The Revolution was successful because it was the revolution of the people. Oliver Cromwell was not its author—he was only its exponent; it is a matter of history that its leaders were from the ranks of the people; they were carpenters and cobblers, tinkers and brewers; they mingled with those who had learned to feel every invasion of their rights and showed they felt it by expressing their discontents, and these leaders stood forth only as nuclei around whom could rally the spirit of insubordination. Just as there would have been a Protestant Reformation without a Martin Luther, so there would have been an English Rebellion without

an Oliver Cromwell. It is sufficient glory to these men, and saying it we say all, that they caught the first glimpses of the rising sun; that they, and such as they, were the instruments by which the Reformation and the Rebellion were consummated. They were great men, but they were only men.

And so our ancestors in the New World, during all the generations from the Puritan exodus to 1789, worked out their own political enfranchisement through the American Revolution and the adoption of our Federal Constitution. Mr. Gladstone's encomium was, "As the British Constitution is the most subtle organism which has proceeded from progressive history, so the American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man." And here amid new surroundings, our people are to repeat on a far grander scale the work which our forefathers wrought in Germany and Britain.

The theatre of our development has been on this continent, and with a compact, continuous territory, washed by the waters of the Atlantic, the Pacific and the Gulf, and within these ocean ramparts separated from all Old World influences. Yet even during our short national existence we have been called upon to meet some dangers and to overcome some trying difficulties. It requires constant vigilance to guard the integrity of the Republic. Our greatest task in preserving our institutions was to rid ourselves of African slavery. It was the cause of the Great Rebellion that threatened the life of the nation. The nation could not survive half slave and half free. It did survive, and freedom was triumphant. But it left four millions of former slaves the wards of the nation. To lift and educate and assimilate these, and to make them intelligent citizens of the Republic, is a labor with which we are still struggling. Though we conferred the right of suffrage, and though we reconstructed the Southern States, thus far our statesmanship has evolved no solution of the problem. The Force Bill was a failure, and nothing is clearer than that until the black race is raised much higher in the scale of civilization can it become equal partners with the white race in the government of the South. It will require much patience and long years of education to enable these people to become co-heirs and joint participants in the benefits of a well-regulated liberty. The process of

assimilation will be a slow one, but we have faith that it will eventually be accomplished.

Indiscriminate immigration, with its great numbers of ignorant and polyglot subjects, has at times given many of our public men much concern. The fear of a Chinese irruption seized the Pacific States a few years since and our Congress adopted restrictive legislation. In both these instances and in similar ones doubtless the question can always be met and worked out with safety to our institutions. The Indian, like the bison, seems to disappear and fade out of existence at the approach of our civilization. In New Mexico, acquired half a century ago, there is a remnant of the Latin races, but the gradual settlement of the country and the infiltration of our people will in time fit it for statehood and bring it into the Federal Union. Our vast province of Alaska is substantially without any government. The natives there, wholly neglected by us in that cold and inhospitable clime, will probably in time disappear as the Indian, and when the country is settled by our people doubtless new States will be carved out of the Territory.

We now have the Sandwich Islands wherein already lives a small number of our race. The problem there to be solved is what to do with the natives, the Chinese and the Japanese. Before a State can be erected out of these islands and safely admitted into the Union many years of tutelage must pass, and yet the political danger of admission is ever present in a government of parties. The history of the admission of Nevada and many of the sparsely populated Silver States is ample demonstration of this fact. Perhaps the best solution is to annex them as one or more counties to California.

And now, also, under the protocol, we have Porto Rico, and by the time we establish "a stable government" in Cuba we shall have it annexed. Porto Rico is about the size of Connecticut and is as densely populated as Massachusetts. To fit the Latin people and the inferior races of these two islands to assume the duties of American citizens is an undertaking that will require all the resources and wise foresight of the best and most advanced statesmanship. Territorial governments will have to be instituted, introductory and preparatory to the erection and development of a self government after the American ideal. To aid these people in the formative work of setting up and maintaining the political

machinery necessary to conduct with peace and harmony and in an orderly manner the affairs of a community will be our province and duty.

All these possessions are, however, not far distant from our shores and within the sphere of American influence, and in the course of years must become imbued with American ideas, American habits and customs as our enterprising and adventurous people settle and grow up and intermarry with the inhabitants of the islands. Free schools, free religion, free thought, may in time bring self-reliance and a feeling of independence even with these inferior races. American industry and commerce are great civilizers. To absorb and incorporate these people, however, into our system and to make them truly members of our republic will require a long process of reconstruction. In some form or other local government must be established. Though, doubtless, it will be very many years before the New England town meeting can be introduced, still we have faith that with time some plan embracing the elements of self-government may be adopted.

How about the Philippines? They are situated about seven thousand miles from San Francisco and in another hemisphere. There are some twelve hundred islands. In area they are about three times as large as New York. They lie in a tropical zone—within a few degrees of the equator. The climate is hot and unhealthful. The white race cannot thrive there. They are inhabited by from seven and a half to ten millions of people, from a low to the very lowest order of intelligence. There are a few Spaniards; the great bulk belong to the impossible Asiatic races, Malays, Chinese, Japanese, Kanakas, and in the unexplored regions, there is a huge mass of untamed blacks where Darwin might easily find his missing link. These native tribes of negritos that fill many of the islands are small physically and mentally, about four feet eight inches in height, and devoid of all intelligence and never heard either of Spain or the United States. There are about two or three millions of these autochthones. They are savages dwelling in the mountain fastnesses and forest regions of the interior. They are pagan. There are two or three millions more of the criss-crossed mixed bloods. They are pagan and Mohammedan. In Luzone and other islands there are many Christianized natives and Malays ruled by priestly orders.

What are we to do with all these? To the extent that Spain, since Magellan set foot on the islands, has ruled them at all, it has been misrule and oppression for more than 300 years. Then among themselves there has been chronic dissension and prolonged internecine and bloody strife that has produced embittered and deep-seated hatreds between the tribes and the races which have been inherited from generation to generation.

What kind of an American state could be carved out of this hodgepodge? Would it be pagan, or Moslem, or Christian? Would a Vermont March Meeting be an eminent success there? If never a State, do we want vassals? Do we want tribute-bearing dependencies?

We are playing with great forces that may shape our own and the world's future. Doubtless, our people have the ability and the boundless courage not only to govern themselves but to govern others, and, contrary to all our traditions, by extra-constitutional means we may rule the Philippines as England rules India, as Russia rules the Khanates. This would be a severe wrench to our Constitution and a departure from our American ideals. The problem that faces us for solution is a far greater one than the unjust rule of Spain in Cuba. That is to set up and maintain a stable government in a neighboring island. This is whether we shall have a dual system; the one a representative republic, founded upon the consent of the governed; the other a government of the few over the many. Whether we shall engraft on our homogeneous American Union of independent States in this hemisphere, a heterogeneous world-wide empire of colonies in another hemisphere. Whether we shall work out merely a compact unification of a magnificent continental domain with its island fringes in the temperate zone peopled by the higher races, or take on also a ramification of distant island dependencies in the tropics with inferior and subject races for assimilation.

If the hand of a Higher Power directed our fleet to Manila Bay, if it was decreed that the boom of Dewey's cannon should drown the voices of the earlier and the later fathers of the Republic, if it be our duty and our destiny to assume this new responsibility, our people will have the capacity and the courage to undertake the task. But it is Britain's system, not America's, and to England, the Mother of Colonies, must we go for instruction and example.

We must establish a colonial system and have a permanent colonial policy, not subject to change every four years. We must organize a bureau with a colonial secretary at Washington to maintain constant supervision over distant possessions, whose department shall embrace the general management of the affairs of these outlying provinces, with full power to decide at once every question, however momentous, that may arise in the administration of any colony. We must inaugurate an elevated civil service. We must raise up a class of highly-trained young men, especially educated and fitted as governors and administrators. In the appointment to these positions partisan politics should not be permitted easily to enter, and the terms of the appointees should be for a long series of years or during good behavior. Nothing but a firm hand, the largest statesmanship and incorruptible patriotism can prevent these distant dependencies from becoming the political plague spots of the nation. In each colony we must have an adequate standing army subject at all times to the call of the governor. In this way we may assure to these peoples thus become the wards of this nation and under its paternal care, an enlargement of the blessings of essential liberty and local privilege up to the limit of their receptive powers. We may give a helping hand even to these benighted races. Not our aggrandizement, however, but their permanent well-being must be our aim. As Senator Hoar says, if our flag is to go there it must go as an emblem of their liberty, not of our dominion. Our spirit must enter into them, not theirs into us. These new duties and new obligations will give ample scope for the exercise of the most enlightened and most advanced statesmanship, and give full play to the expansive spirit of Anglo-Saxon adventure, always ambitious to do the outdoor work of the world.

The Paris Commission in the first instance must work out these problems, but whatever the outcome, history will forget the cause of the Spanish war in the result. The new epoch in our national life will overshadow all the incidents of the war. The closing years of the 19th century witness the young Republic of the West entering upon a new and a broader career of progress and accomplishment. All at once we are lifted to a loftier plane of world influence and elevated to the front rank of the nations and the Old World powers recognize as their peer the robust and growing giant of the New World. The opening years of the 20th century wel-

come us to a wider arena and a grander future of peaceful achievement. We see this people with gigantic strides multiplying in numbers, growing in wealth, in a fuller knowledge of the sciences, in all the arts of enlightenment. We see the building and completion under governmental auspices of the Nicaragua Canal, thus binding together our Atlantic and Pacific coasts. We see a great and growing navy commensurate with our international position and large enough and strong enough to command the respect of the other powers, and to ensure lasting peace. We see our merchant marine traversing all the waters of the globe and swarming in the harbors of all lands and rivaling England in the carrying trade of the world. We see our flag floating above ample naval stations and coaling ports dotting every ocean, and the sun of heaven greeting Freedom's banner during every hour of every revolution of the round earth. We see in the long years of the future the onward and outward march of the forces of civilization with America by the side of Britain, and the Stars and Stripes and the Union Jack interwoven, full high advanced at the head of the columns of these leaders of nations, in the mighty contest between the Anglo-Saxon and the Slav for the supremacy of this world.

All these achievements lie legitimately and logically within the pathway of our national destiny. But the sublime purposes of the Republic as conceived by its immortal founders should not be obscured by the sudden impulse of the hour in a delirium of territorial conquest or commercial aggrandizement, nor yet by a misguided sentimentalism toward a semi-barbarous population of a remote Asiatic archipelago. Our primary duty is to ourselves and to our posterity, and if we justly perform that duty we shall transmit unimpaired to our children and to the world the priceless institutions which, through so much struggle and sacrifice, have been bequeathed to us. We should resolutely shun every innovation or doubtful experiment which may tend to undermine the foundations on which they rest. To maintain a watchful vigilance is the sacred and paramount obligation imposed by the guardianship entrusted to the present generation, to the end that this government, thus far led by the unerring hand of Providence, shall not perish from the earth.

THE SPANISH WAR.

AN ADDRESS

Before the Reunion Society of Vermont Officers, at Montpelier,
October 26, 1898.

BY

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